

And he was famously averse to raising money, even for his own campaigns. (His son John Sarbanes, who represents his father's old congressional district, has carried on that tradition by sponsoring the House's leading campaign finance reform legislation.) Indeed, much of the Senator's career success was due to his savvy longtime chief of staff Peter Marudas, another Greek American who could not only go toe to toe with Sarbanes on the issues but ably manage the more transactional demands of his office.

Joe Biden has spoken optimistically—naïvely in the opinion of many—about his ability as president to work productively with Mitch McConnell and other Republicans on substantive issues. To the degree he honestly believes that, it is because he has done so in his own career, and watched others, like Paul Sarbanes, do so as well.

After the Senator died, Biden tweeted: “Paul Sarbanes and I served together on the Foreign Relations Committee for 30 years. There was no one sharper, more committed, or with firmer principles. And he, too, returned to his family nearly every night. They meant the world to him. Rest In Peace, Paul.”

“DOMESTIC TERRORISM IN THE CAPITOL”

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, what our Nation witnessed and what Members of Congress and the dedicated staff that work in the Capitol witnessed on January 6 was a deadly attack on one of our most sacred and historic constitutional duties: the count and final certification of the results of our Presidential election. The violent insurrection that occurred in the Capitol, which took the lives of five people, including an officer of the U.S. Capitol Police, was an attack on our democracy. The votes cast in the 2020 Presidential election were counted and recounted. The results were challenged in the courts and ultimately were certified in every single State. Yet, citing the baseless chant that the election was “stolen,” an angry and violent mob stormed the Capitol in an effort to suspend the democratic process, overturn the will of the American people, and ensure that now-former President Trump remained in office. These insurrectionists vandalized the very heart of our government and threatened and harmed those sworn to protect it.

In a column in the *VT Digger*, Haviland Smith, a Vermonter and the first chief of counterterrorism operations for the Central Intelligence Agency, makes the strong case that the insurrection on January 6 was an act of domestic terrorism. I am certain that the FBI and the Department of Justice will continue to investigate and, where appropriate, to file charges and hold these people to account. But in this Chamber, we must heed Mr. Smith's wisdom. As legislative body, as public servants, we must reckon with the lies and anti-democratic discourse that fueled this attack and work to ensure that such an act of domestic terrorism never occurs again.

I ask unanimous consent that the piece written by Haviland Smith, titled “Domestic Terrorism in the Capitol,” be printed in the *RECORD*.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

[From the *VT Digger*, Jan. 8, 2021]

DOMESTIC TERRORISM IN THE CAPITOL

(By Haviland Smith)

It is a fact that the best, noblest political movements often attract the worst kind of violent participants. These people barge in and commit the kinds of violent acts that ultimately change the focus of a previously benign movement to violent terrorist activities. These are viewed quite differently and are generally punished more severely than normal criminal activities.

That is what we are seeing today in the United States. Whether you agree with their goals or not, the vast majority of Trump supporters are non-violent Americans who seek basic changes in American life. They plan to reach their goals by supporting Trump. Right now, that means demonstrating peacefully on his behalf and agreeing with and backing his claims of fraud in the 2020 presidential election which he lost to Joe Biden.

The other part of this picture is the violent one. There is unquestionably a smaller group or groups who, for whatever reasons, see these peaceful demonstrations as an opportunity to raise havoc, to partake in the only form of protest that turns them on—violence.

What none of these folks seem to realize is that in the commission of felonies (entering the U.S. Capitol forcefully, etc.) in the pursuit of political goals (the illegal participation in maintaining Trump in power) they qualify nicely for classification as terrorists.

At one point during the invasion of the Capitol, it was announced by the TV commentators that the invaders were beginning to leave the area. Careful examination of the TV footage at the time shows that the people leaving the area were old, often female—a less fit, less bellicose group. In fact, they were the Capitol invaders who had no intention of getting involved in what clearly was becoming a potentially violent situation. They simply were not up to it politically, mentally or physically.

On the other hand, who stayed behind? Those who were actively interested in becoming involved in violence. Did you notice how many of them wore helmets? The only reason you wear a helmet is to protect yourself from violent attacks on your head and that is clearly what they were doing. They anticipated participating in violence. In addition, the stay-behinds were a major cut in age below those who were leaving. They were the sort who could climb vertical walls, break through windows and throw projectiles at the protecting police force. The fact that 5 people died, over 80 were arrested, and 50 police officers were injured bears eloquent testimony to the fact that this was a terrorist invasion encouraged by the sitting President of the United States, his family members and Republican colleagues.

Ever since the results of the November election became known, the President has created and maintained the fiction that widespread fraud was involved in the Biden win. Whether Trump knows that his major premise is all lies (which would make him a calculating criminal) or doesn't know that his positions are all lies (making him deranged) is almost irrelevant. In either case, calculating or deranged, he is a strangely questionable choice for leader of this country.

Terrorism is the use of fear (terror) and acts of violence to intimidate societies, governments or ideologies. Domestic terrorism is a form of terrorism in which victims with-

in a country are targeted by a perpetrator with the same citizenship” as the victims.

It is worth noting that in the middle of the January 6 invasion, the FBI became involved, presumably on the basis of a logical conclusion that they were looking at an act of domestic terrorism. The FBI's definition of domestic terrorism is “violent, criminal acts committed by individuals and/or groups to further ideological goals stemming from domestic influences, such as those of a political, religious, social, racial or environmental nature.”

It is clear that the invasion of the Capitol building involved criminal activity. It is equally clear that if the criminals are to be identified and tried for their crimes, as has been clearly stated by all the government elements involved, it will be the FBI that will lead the way. They are, after all, the premier law enforcement organization in the United States. As such, they are most likely to be the only organization capable of resolving the many complicated issues involved in this crime, most emphatically including the issue of domestic terrorism, its initiators, motivators and perpetrators.

THE POWER OF HUMAN CHOICES

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, amid the chaos of the last 4 years, it is almost difficult to parse out the particular challenge that was 2020. Faced with deadly pandemic wrought by COVID-19 and the ensuing economic crisis, millions of Americans lost their jobs and found themselves in a newfound state of uncertainty and instability. Hundreds of thousands of Americans have died from the pandemic, and millions have been infected. Meanwhile, families across the country have lost their homes and businesses due to worsening hurricanes, floods, and wildfires brought on by intensifying climate change. And there are socioeconomic challenges, too, that linger and grow due to inequality, political division, and racial injustice, all things that have defined the last year.

George Will poignantly wrote on January 1 in the *Washington Post* about the challenges we faced throughout the past year and will continue to face moving forward. In his piece, Mr. Will highlights a greater overarching challenge as well: that we, as humans, do not have all encompassing control over our circumstances. There are greater forces in play; yet our choices and decisions can dictate to some degree the impact of those forces.

As we begin our work in the 117th Congress, I hope we can come together to better equip our families, communities, and society to respond to our current challenges and prepare our country to effectively combat similar challenges in the future.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Will's column, “2020 was a booster shot against human hubris,” be printed in the *RECORD*.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 1, 2021]

2020 WAS A BOOSTER SHOT AGAINST HUMAN HUBRIS

(By George Will)

The plague year 2020 was yet another brutal rejoinder to the belief that brute forces can be pushed to the margins of, and eventually out of, humanity's experience. When today's pandemic recedes, what should linger is a quickened appreciation of the fragility of life and social arrangements. And an awareness that things much worse than covid-19 have happened before, and will continue to happen. The human story is not entirely the 19th-century human choices.

The 1918-19 "Spanish flu," which began in Kansas, killed between 50 million and 100 million people worldwide, lowered U.S. life expectancy by 12 years, and did not spare, as covid-19 largely does, the young. The Black Death—the bubonic plague—of 1346-1353 was much worse, killing 10 percent of the world's population, and more than one-third of Europe's, including 40,000 of London's 70,000 residents.

In the 1980s, AIDS was so shocking because it refuted the complacent belief that infectious disease epidemics had been banished. In 2019, however, 1.7 million people were newly infected with the AIDS virus, and 690,000 people who were already infected died. But of the 38 million living with the virus, 25.4 million were controlling it with antiviral drugs.

Astronomy lowered mankind's self-esteem (we are not the center of the universe), then biology did (our species has an undistinguished pedigree). Geology, too, has disturbed our sense of mastery. Genesis enjoins us to "subdue" the Earth, but this slowly cooling residue of the Big Bang gets a vote. As its continents wander—half an inch to four inches a year, according to plate tectonics—the planet's interior of boiling gas and molten rock occasionally is heard from.

Volcanic eruptions at what is now Yellowstone National Park some 630,000 years ago covered half of what is now the continental United States with ash. When the Indonesian volcano Krakatoa erupted in 1883, sea surges, which killed most of the eruption's eventual 36,000 victims, were felt in the English Channel. Krakatoa, was, however, only one-tenth as powerful as the April 1815 eruption of Indonesia's Mount Tambora, which killed 10,000 instantly—incandescent ash flowed 100 miles per hour—and generated winds that uprooted trees. Particulate matter blocking the sun's rays cooled the Earth: Water froze in some American cisterns on July 4. Today, a large majority of the one-eighth of the nation's population that lives in California resides near the San Andreas fault, and the question is not if but when it will lurch catastrophically.

A U.S. satellite poised between Earth and the sun can provide perhaps a 45-minute warning if the sun is going to plunge the planet into darkness. On Sept. 2, 1859, before there were light bulbs, a coronal mass ejection (CME) of 100 million tons of charged particles thrown off by the sun only produced spectacular sunsets. If—actually, when—it happens again, it can produce chaos in our thoroughly electrified, digitized world by induced electric currents: no functioning satellites, telephonic communications, water pumps, financial transactions, hospitals. No Netflix. That got your attention.

On March 13, 1989, a CME solar storm turned out the lights in the entire Canadian province of Quebec. Three days earlier, a NASA astronomer says, scientists had noticed "a powerful explosion on the sun. Within minutes, tangled magnetic forces on the sun had released a billion-ton cloud of gas. It was like the energy of thousands of nuclear

bombs exploding at the same time. The storm cloud rushed out from the sun, straight towards Earth, at 1 million miles an hour." This geomagnetic storm struck the Earth the evening of March 12, creating "electrical currents in the ground beneath much of North America," crashing Quebec's power grid.

There are those who believe in a benevolent God because Earth, as they see it, is "biophilic," meaning friendly to life. They must, however, reckon not only with non-biophilic things (saber-toothed tigers, volcanoes, typhoons, viruses, etc.), but also with the fact that this (meaning: everything) is not going to end well. The universe will either continue to expand, ending in life-extinguishing cold, or will collapse into incinerating heat.

Meanwhile, here is some (sort of) good news, from the Economist. In history's bloodiest century, the last one, 100 million to 200 million people died as a result of war. Measles killed in the same range, influenza near the top of the range. Smallpox, however, killed 300 million to 500 million.

The eradication of smallpox, by globally coordinated vaccination campaigns, "stands as one of the all-time-great humanitarian triumphs."

Human choices cannot subdue all the brute forces that always lurk. Choices can, however, make a difference. And they can dignify us, a thinking, coping species.

NOMINATION OF ANTONY JOHN BLINKEN

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Madam President, I rise to speak in support of Tony Blinken's nomination to be Secretary of State.

I support Tony for Secretary of State for three key reasons. First, he has the diplomatic skills that our country needs at this pivotal moment to regain our leadership on the world stage. From 2015 to 2017, he served as Deputy Secretary of State, the Nation's second highest ranking diplomat. In that position, he helped lead U.S. efforts to combat terrorism, address rising concerns in Asia, and respond to Russian regional aggression. He is a crisis-tested leader who will hit the ground running at the State Department with critical knowledge and relationships with leaders worldwide.

Second, Tony has a longstanding and trusted personal relationship with President Biden that will enable him to advise the President on key foreign policy issues. During President Obama's first term in office, he was National Security Advisor to then-Vice President Biden. Previously, Tony served as the Democratic staff director for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for 6 years when then-Senator Biden was committee chairman. It is because of his relationship with President Biden and his career as a public servant that Tony understands that the job of Secretary of State is not just to serve the American people, but to help improve the lives of people struggling all over the world.

Last but certainly not least, Tony has the experience of serving at the State Department that will help him rebuild the Department, recruiting needed Foreign Service Officers and ci-

vilians, ensuring State personnel have the training they need to be effective in their mission, restoring morale throughout the Department, and empowering our diplomats to speak on behalf of him and President Biden.

Tony will help our country repair the damage of the last 4 years and restore the United States as a leader and trusted ally. I look forward to working with him to advance our mutual objectives of promoting peace and security, and I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of his confirmation.

Thank you.

CONFIRMATION OF LLOYD JAMES AUSTIN

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Madam President, I was proud to vote in support of Lloyd Austin to serve as our next Secretary of Defense. I cast my vote with confidence that he will capably lead the Department of Defense through this difficult period in our Nation's history.

As a four-star general, Lloyd Austin was tasked with leading the drawdown of American troops from Iraq and helped bring 150,000 U.S. soldiers home. He demonstrated the logistical mastery that will be necessary to help lead the nationwide effort to vaccinate against COVID-19. Through his remarkable life and trailblazing career, he has gained the experience and perspective required of this office, and now, he has broken one more barrier as the first African-American Secretary of Defense in our Nation's history. I am confident he will ensure that our Armed Forces reflect and respect the diversity of our Nation and that everyone in our military upholds the oath they take to protect our Constitution.

I have made no secret of my concerns about the troubling trend of Congress granting waivers to allow recently retired officers to serve as Secretary of Defense, and I voted against such a waiver for Lloyd Austin as I did when that question was previously put before the Congress. Nevertheless, I believe once Congress speaks on the issue of a waiver, each Senator must evaluate the nominee on his or her merits alone. By that measure, Lloyd Austin is superbly qualified. He has the confidence of the President and is the right person for this moment. I support his confirmation.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

REMEMBERING BARBARA HARDCASTLE

• Mr. BOOZMAN. Madman President, I rise today to honor the life of Mrs. Barbara Hardcastle, who passed away on January 13, 2020, at the age of 94.

Mrs. Hardcastle was trailblazer and a fierce advocate for her community and her State. A native of Fort Smith, AK, she also made her mark in politics and government in California. I was honored to know her, and so I join her friends and family in grieving her loss.

Barbara Turner was born in Fort Smith on April 6, 1927. She graduated from Fort Smith High School in 1944 and went on to earn a bachelor's degree from Fort Smith Junior College. She